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ABSTRACT

The recent anthropological literature contains both linear and non-linear models of acculturation. The non-linear model assumes that acculturation generates biculturality, that is, the addition of a new culture to the old one, whereas the linear model involves replacement of the old culture by a new one. Biculturality in the non-linear model gives freedom of choice, whereas the linear model implies culture conflict. The non-linear model stresses that acculturation processes are contingent upon social environment and therefore should be seen as a function of social reference groups. The linear model seems to take for granted the direct and entire embracement of the individual by a culture. This paper attempts to reinforce the three points of the non-linear mode--biculturality selectivity, and social contingency--while accepting what is valid in the linear model. As far as Issei (first-generation) immigrants from Japan and their Nisei children in Hawaii are concerned, social contingency attains full significance: the Japanese individual is trained morally as well as psychologically to be sensitive to the social setting. The native culture here facilitates acculturation, although the reverse is not true. This is demonstrated by analysis of the content of moral education textbooks used by Japanese language schools, expressed attitudes and opinions of school principals, and Nisei informants in various professional fields. (Author/JM)

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ACCULTURATION DILEMMA: THE FUNCTION OF JAPANESE MORAL VALUES FOR AMERICANIZATION[1]

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[Ed. Note: Studies of ethnicity, education, and social change are an important area for educational research. This paper examines the effects of one educational program, Japanese Language Schools in Pre-War Hawaii, and suggests a conceptual framework in which we can see their relation to processes of acculturation to American society.]

Theoretical Considerations

The recent anthropological literature on the subject of acculturation tends to discredit the linear model for describing acculturative processes. Gluckman (cited in Mayer 1962), for example, refutes the validity of the "de-tribalization" postulate which is based upon the idea of linear change from tribal to non-tribal culture. He offers, instead, the "alternation model" in which the native switches freely back and forth between the two cultures--tribal and urban--depending upon whether he finds himself in the hinterland or in an urban setting.

This alternation model, based on the principle of situational selection, is further extended by Mayer with reference to social roles. For him the urban-tribal antithesis is that of "sets of relations" and, therefore, whether an individual exhibits an urban or tribal pattern of behavior depends on which set of social relations he happens to be in. "In this model, the question of what one means by an 'urban African' does not arise at all. The adjective is not applicable to persons: it applies only to roles, relations, systems, and the like" (Mayer 1962;585).

Along the same line of argument, McFee (1968) replaces the "continuum model" with what he calls the "matrix model" in analyzing the acculturation of Blackfeet Indians. While the continuum model assumes the linear change from the more Indian to the more white culture, the matrix model suggests all four possible combinations of the two cultures in terms of two degrees, high and low--high in white orientation and low in Indian; low in white and high in Indian; low in both; and high in both. Among all the four possibilities, the author singles out the last one, namely, "high in both White and Indian culture," as the main point of argument. The Indian of this type is "more than a culture container (McFee 1968:1101), and scores more than 100 percent--the very point of the title of the article, "The 150% Man, A Product of Blackfeet Acculturation." Here McFee refutes "the container error" which he claims is implied in the continuum model.

Summing up these theoretical contributions, I have come up with the following typology of the non-linear and the linear model of acculturation.

	Non-Linear	Linear
(1)	Bi-culturality	Replacement
(2)	Selectivity	Conflict
(3)	Social contingency	Cultural embracement

First, the non-linear model assumes that acculturation generates biculturality, that is the addition of a new culture to the old one, whereas the linear model involves replacement of the old culture by a new one. Second, biculturality in the non-linear model gives freedom of choice or bicultural repertoire in action; whereas the linear model, bound by the idea of replacement, implies the opposite of freedom, namely, conflict. The latter is underscored by dramatic, often destructive action associated with nativistic movements among those undergoing acculturation. (See, for instance, O'Brien and Ploeg 1964.) Third, the non-linear model stresses that acculturation processes are contingent upon social environment and therefore should be seen as a function of social relationship, roles, audiences; or as Berreman (1964) perceives, of reference groups. The linear model, on the other hand, seems to take for granted the direct and entire embracement of the individual by a culture.

To my mind the non-linear model seems much more sophisticated and acceptable. This paper thus attempts to reinforce the three points of the non-linear model--biculturality, selectivity, and social contingency. At the same time, however, it is undeniable that the linear model does contain a certain degree of validity. We know that natives do undergo replacement of their own culture by another culture however slow the process may be. We also know that many, if not all, natives under acculturation experience strain and conflict, or "double bind," in varying degrees of acuteness. Finally, crucial as social contingency may be to acculturation, social interaction, in turn, is determined by a set of culturally defined norms: some cultures may provide norms of interaction more favorable to acculturation than other cultures do. I would like to take into account these relevant

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implications of the linear model as well. In sum, my paper purports to integrate the two models of acculturation: linear and non-linear.

An Alternative Hypothesis on Acculturation

The literature referred to above concerns natives under colonial domination. It is true that culture contact under colonial control is quite different from that occasioned by migration: one is involuntary, whereas the other is more or less voluntary; also one involves acculturation of "native" residents while the other involves acculturation of "guests" into the host culture. Nonetheless, the theoretical standpoints, as delineated above, are generalizable, I believe, to the situation of immigrants insofar as the immigrants and their offspring carry a status stigma as being a minority or as inferior and are placed under pressure for emulating the dominant host culture. Under this assumption I shall apply those theories to the Japanese in Hawaii. It is my ultimate goal to generate an alternative hypothesis integrating the linear and non-linear models.

As far as Issei (first-generation) immigrants and their Nisei (second-generation) children in Hawaii are concerned, point (3) of the non-linear model, namely, social contingency, attains full significance in that the Japanese indidivual is trained morally as well as psychologically to be sensitized to the place he occupies in a social setting, to perform faithfully whatever role is assigned to him, and to respond to the expectations and evaluations of others. From this it seems to follow that the Japanese immigrant is equipped with native norms which maximize his readiness for acculturation to the extent that he interacts with members of the host society.

This certainly implies to the likelihood of: (1) biculturality and (2) selectivity on the part of Japanese Americans. To borrow McFee's phrase, the Japanese American can represent a 150-percent man. It is not only that to be Japanese and American at the same time is possible or that one has bicultural options of behavior. It is implied that the more Japanese one is, the more ready for acculturation. Given the immigrant's situation, it may even be expected that the socially sensitizing norms of Japanese culture are mobilized more systematically and intensely than would be the case with the Japanese in a familiar situation. Here one finds the native culture itself compelling the immigrant toward acculturation. Indeed, Issei Japanese, particularly those Issei who have decided on Hawaii as a permanent home, seem to try hard to be accepted in the American society or at least not to look obtrusively alien. They are only outdone in this respect by Nisei who as American citizens are naturally more committed to an American identity. That compulsion for acculturation is built in the native (Japanese) culture is shown by the fact that successful Americanization of Nisei is taken as an "ethnic" pride of "Japanese" Americans. The hypothetical formula here is "If pro-Japanese, then pro-American," which is quite opposite from what nationalistic Americans in the 1920's believed: "If pro-Japanese, then anti-American."

So far there seems to be no problem. The problem emerges when we take into consideration what happens to the Japanese once he is caught up on the main stream of Americanization. The Japanese culture, initially facilitative of acculturation, now appears obsolete, useless, or even un-American to the person who has once internalized American culture in some depth. The reason is obvious. Unlike Japanese culture, American culture is socially insensitive and non-accommodative; instead, it capitalizes upon the individual's initiative, creativity, and self-determination. While Japanese culture is instrumental to the individual's Americanization, thanks to its emphasis on the virtue of social accommodation, American culture does not reinforce Japanese values but rather, with its individualistic focus, repels them. The Japanese effort for Americanization itself, when looked at from the standpoint of individualistic philosophy, appears un-American. Reinforcement is thus not reciprocal but only unilateral.

I have argued that the more Japanese-oriented, the more responsive to the pressures of Americanization. The reverse is not true, however. Americanization does not necessarily reinforce Japanese values but rather tends to repress them. In the first instance the non-linear model is validated, but in the second the linear model is more applicable. Once Americanization takes place, acculturation becomes a more or less irreversible, linear process. This process involves: (1) replacement of Japanese culture, (2) conflict between the two cultures, and (3) total embracement by the individual of American culture regardless of social situation.

Combination of these two opposite processes involved in the acculturation of Japanese Americans is likely to generate ambivalence toward both American and Japanese cultures. Ambivalance is further complicated by the fact that the individual's "sincere" effort for Americanization may not be necessarily appreciated or rewarded by members of the host society. This kind of asymmetric intercultural relationship may result in severe psychological conflict since Japanese culture has infused the individual with a sensitivity to social feedback.

The hypothesis implied in the foregoing is twofold. First the native culture (Japanese) facilitates acculturation (Americanization). Second, the reverse is not true; that is, Americanization does

not reinforce Japanese culture, instead it involves an irreversible movement away from the native culture, and hence ambivalence and dilemma on the part of the acculturating individual.

Empirical Illustrations

I shall now turn to my empirical observations focusing on the Japanese language-school education in order to substantiate the two-fold hypothesis stated above.

Japanese language schools in Hawaii, since 1893 when the first school was created on the Big Island, continued to grow until 1939 when they had reached a total of 194 schools with an enrollment of more than 38,000 students (Hawaii Nipponjin Iminshi 1964:249). After Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese schools were closed, and many school principals were interned. Although the schools were reopened after World War II, the change brought about with the war was so drastic that they have never recovered their pre-war strength. The number of students has been declining every year, and as of today (1970), enrollment is estimated at 10,000.

Almost all Nisei informants I came across stated that they had had no choice in the pre-war era but to attend Japanese schools as well as public schools; and that every Japanese child in the informant's neighborhood also had attended a language school. How effective the teaching at language schools has been is difficult to determine. Moreover, there was a deliberate effort on the part of the language schools not to interfere with the requirements of public schools. They would hold students only for one hour per day after public school. As public-school requirements increased, many students dropped out of Japanese schools before completing the twelfth school year. Nevertheless, Japanese schools undoubtedly exerted some influence on most Nisei, whether positive or negative. It can be further assumed that the Japanese-language schools served as a major channel, along with families, for systematic transmission, perpetuation, and reinforcement of Japanese culture. The Japanese language was taught in reading, writing, and speaking but often in association with moral lessons; most major schools offered moral education as a special subject called shūshin, using a separate textbook.

Information for this paper was drawn from three sources. First, the textbooks in moral education; second, interviews with school principals; and, third, interviews with Nisei who are former students of Japanese language schools.

Analysis of Textbooks

The textbooks initially used in language schools were the same as in Japan; inspected and approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education. Revision took place first in 1916, and then in 1937, in order to make them better fitted for students with American citizenship. The following analysis draws upon the 1937 edition of shūshin textbooks (Shūshinsho). Five books were selected out of a total of ten available for the first to tenth grades. These five books include 61 stories or instructions meant for moral exhortation. Most of the stories (56 out of 61) refer to historical facts, especially those concerning notable personages. Actors who appear in the stories are mostly Japanese, although nine non-Japanese personages (Lincoln, Garfield, Hoover, Edison, Carnegie, etc.) are also included.

Social Sensitization

The moral values alluded to by these stories are primarily socially oriented. They can be categorized as follows in the order of frequency, with some overlaps between categories (frequency shown for each category): Kindness (benevolence, generosity, tender care for the helpless) - 24; Devotion (loyalty, filial piety, selfless dedication) - 20; Sacrifice (including suicide) - 12; Trustworthiness (keeping one's word, the sense of responsibility, being dependable or conscientious) - 9; Cooperation (mutual help for a collective goal, solidarity, harmony, togetherness - 5); Tolerance (forgiveness for the err or wrong doing of others) - 5; Love (parent's or teacher's love) - 5; Repayment for benefit received (on-gaeshi) - 4; Compliance (obedience, respect for elders) - 2; Public morality (kōtoku) - 2; Trustfulness (faith in the goodness of others) - 1; Politeness - 1.

These virtues are socially oriented in the sense that they are directed toward a person or group with whom ego interacts directly or indirectly. They are social also in a deeper sense: these virtues are alluded to not as an immutable, God-given set of moral standards but as natural results of compassion or empathy for others. Particularly, the first three virtues--kindness, devotion, and sacrifice--are motivationally based upon the mechanism of vicarious experience of the pain and pleasure of others. Ego's action is determined by the needs and desires of others rather than ego's own, which are vicariously experienced or anticipated by ego.

About two-thirds of the textbook stories (42 out of 61) explicitly refer to moral compensation--rewards for moral action and punishments for immoral action. Actors are finally rewarded for their moral conduct: 27 cases involve goal attainment (in typical success stories); 10 cases are rewarded materially or physically (such as rescued from near death); but as many as 34 cases involve "social" reward. Social reward takes such forms as gratitude expressed by the beneficiary (14), praise expressed by spectators (16), community-wide or nation-wide (and sometimes world-wide) reputation (17), status promotion (4), becoming a moral model for emulation by others (2), repentance

expressed by the sinful in response to the moral actor's benevolence (2), and repayment by the beneficiary (ongaeshi)(3).

The relationship between socially sensitized moral action and social compensation can be understood in two ways. First, moral action may be considered as a sort of social investment which will be returned to the investor with a profit. Simply put, if you are good to others, they in turn will reward you with such social values as gratitude, praise, etc. To the extent that such social reward is valuable, there will be inclinations to show kindness, devotion, etc.

The second implication is that once a benefit is received there is an obligation to repay it. This is the basic logic of on morality, on being a diffuse mixture of benefit bestowed and debt incurred (Lebra 1969, 1971). Underlying one's motivation for moral action is one's awareness of being in debt to others, together with a compulsion for repaying the debt. The textbooks under consideration thus stress how indebted the readers are to their parents, teachers, and many others. How to repay a debt is shown by stories on the virtue of ongaeshi (return of on).

Socially sensitizing moral values, backed up by social compensation in these two senses, are likely to propel the individual to get socially involved, to become "engaged" in social relationships. Readiness for social engagement is certainly an important factor, I believe, in expediting acculturation.

Generalization

Social sensitization alone, however, does not necessarily guarantee adjustment to an alien culture. If social environment remains confined, then social sensitization may operate against acculturation. The textbooks do include instructions with regard to immediate social groups and relations such as parent-child, or sibling relationships, or immediate neighborhood. However, a larger number of stories are oriented to non-immediate relations. Nine cases are kin-oriented, 15 to particular, but non-kin "others," and 29 are oriented to "generalized others," either strangers or general communities--local and national.

Generalization of "others" is also shown in the way social compensation materializes. Reward for good conduct comes not only from the beneficiary, the receiver of good conduct, but from a general audience. While 21 cases refer to reciprocal compensation by the beneficiary, 23 cases find the agent of compensation in the third party, either an individual spectator or general public, who is not involved in benefit-exchange.

To keep the generalized others in mind, instead of getting involved in immediate social relationships, requires some character strength for the individual actor. The textbooks thus emphasize, along with social values, personally oriented values. The following is a list of such values shown again in the order of frequency: Perserverance (endurance, firmness) - 26; Industriousness (hard work, diligence, studiousness) - 22; Rationality (thoughtfulness, good reasoning, inventiveness) -13; Discipline (inhibition from capriciousness, punctuality, observance of rules, tidiness) - 11; Bravery - 6; Ambitiousness - 6; Honesty - 3; Frugality - 2.

The overwhelming emphasis upon perserverance and industriousness is particularly relevant to generalization of social values. Moral lessons involved here are: that even when the individual is determined to do good he is not free of all sorts of predicaments and suffering; that he must overcome these difficulties through endurance (gaman or shinbō) and with firm resolution to carry out his initial will; that nothing will come to fruition unless he studies or works hard and persistently.

These moral attributes of the individual person are necessary for generalizing social compensation in a time dimension. Instead of expecting an immediate reward, one is supposed to look for an ultimate reward only after long perserverance and diligence. As social investment is thus made on a long-run basis, so should the social debt be carried and repaid on a more or less permanent basis. Given the difficulty of communication and the lack of consensus in intercultural contact, as in Hawaii, such a long-range perspective may be considered essential.

It may be concluded here that social sensitization coupled with such generalization, as emphasized in the Japanese language-school textbooks, should operate for Nisei students in favor of acculturation. As far as moral instructions expressed in the textbooks are concerned, the Japanese language-school education may be said to conform to the non-linear model in that being Japanese is perfectly compatible with being American, or that being Japanese helps one become American.

The use, interpretation, and absorption of these textbooks is best illustrated by observation of the instructors and students of these language schools.

Instructors' Views

Interviews were conducted with three school principals, all male, one being Japan-born and the others Hawaii-born Kibei (Nisei who were reared in Japan, and later returned to the U. S.). All of them taught before the war, at least for a while, and are teaching at the present.

Asked about their educational philosophy, they all stressed the importance of moral education and the significant role of Japanese language schools in this area, particularly in pre-war Hawaii. The moral values they taught are certainly of Japanese origin but at the same time applicable, they argued, to citizens of any country. Compatibility or even indistinguishability between Japanese and American values was stressed. How was loyalty taught, then? By the time these informants started to teach--in the 1920's and 1930's--there was no loyalty problem, no ambiguity as to which country should be served. The purpose of the Japanese language school was definitely to make good American citizens out of Nisei children. This did not mean renunciation of loyalty to Japan: it meant that loyalty to Japan was easily transferable to any country one belongs to. One of the principals reasoned this by saying, "We taught them to be loyal to kimi. But kimi meant the emperor only for Japanese, and President for Americans." Another principal recalled how he had been emotionally moved when he saw school children of different ethnic backgrounds voluntarily standing at attention while the American flag was being raised. Convinced that a good Japanese must be a good American, the other principal stressed the Japanese virtue of ongaeshi to explain loyalty. The Japanese know, he said, there are four kinds of on--on from parents, on from teachers, on from all beings, and on from the country. It is this last on that Nisei owe to America and must repay by being loyal.

The extreme expression of combination between Japanese morality and loyalty to America was found in the 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regiment Combat Team composed of Nisei volunteers during World War II. In response to the question, "In what ways have Japanese language schools contributed to Hawaii and American society in general," my informants invariably mentioned this and attributed the Nisei loyalty and bravery thus demonstrated to their Japanese education. In addition to this, they mentioned the Nisei's contribution to the war, for example, as interpreters, with their knowledge of Japanese learned at language schools.

Another important contribution the informants all claimed the language schools had made was keeping children morally upright and disciplined. The distinctly low rate of crime and delinquency among Nisei, compared with other ethnic groups, was repeatedly mentioned as a strong indication of the effectiveness of moral education given by pre-war Japanese language schools.

So far I have delineated the instructors' views of language schools as perfectly compatible with or even necessary for Americanization of Japanese. However, the same instructors are now facing the "deplorable" result of successful acculturation of Japanese Americans. They are encountering fewer and fewer local Japanese who are aware of the importance of Japanese-language education. Nisei parents do not speak Japanese to their Sansei children, complained my informants, they do not push their children to attend a Japanese school because they "suffered" too much as language-school students. Today, everything is determined by egoistic interest and money. Look at the fantastic rise, the informants went on, in the rate of crime and delinquency of local Japanese. "Japanese are now like all other Americans, Koreans, Hawaiians, Whites, Blacks, etc. They are just as bad as any other ethnic group. Even in classrooms, Sansei and Yonsei students are so dreadfully undisciplined. All this is a result of Americanization." By losing Japanese qualities, it was contended, Japanese are becoming undesirable Americans. By forcing Americanization on its people, America is losing its resources. "If a war broke out now," one of the principals predicted, "there would be no Japanese who would fight for America as bravely as the 442nd did."

The school teachers' frustration comes partly from their financial difficulty as a result of diminishing enrollment. One of the informants, as the foremost leader in Hawaii Kyōiku Kai (Japanese Educational Association in Hawaii), is planning to request government subsidies from both the United States and Japan. He feels both governments should be more appreciative of the contributions Japanese language schools have made and are capable of making in the future. "A subsidy for Japanese schools would be, for example, a much more effective measure for delinquency problems than any other measures introduced by the government."

To outsiders it seems that acculturation has crossed a point of no-return so that efforts of the school teachers to restore the pre-war type of discipline does not look very realistic. The principals themselves are aware of the futility of their efforts. One said, "I feel as if I am trying all by myself to stop the main current of the ocean." This sense of futility was also expressed by another in terms of resentment against America, amusement at the Soviet Union surpassing America in science, and the revitalized conviction that Japan, as a superior nation, should lead the world.

Here two cultures collide and the clash seems all the more painful because of the acculturation-facilitating aspect of Japanese culture. A most dramatic meeting of the two models--linear and non-linear--was seen during World War II. Local Japanese attained the unprecedented ethnic glory through their heroic commitment to the American cause; their ethnic pride reached a peak paradoxically when the whole Japanese community was suddenly "de-Japanized" and the authority of Issei was downgraded to a nonentity. As Ushijima (1969) writes, Hawaii's Japanese experienced victory in World War II in contrast to the Japanese in Japan to whom the war is associated with nothing but defeat. Although Japanese language school

teachers take credit for the loyalty of the 442nd, we know that this loyalty was demonstrated and recognized when the language schools were all closed and discredited.

Recollections of Former Students

If the foregoing argument is valid, it should be further reflected in the recalled experiences of former students of Japanese language schools. I selected a group of Nisei who have "made it" professionally. Ten University of Hawaii faculty members of professorial rank were interviewed and asked to recall and evaluate their experiences at Japanese language schools which they had attended from three to 12 years.

I wanted to see how the language-school education would be recalled and evaluated by those Nisei who have succeeded in American society, who therefore can be said to have succeeded in acculturation. The following analysis is based upon the responses to some of the open-ended questions.

As would be expected, the responses turned out to vary widely, some being extremely positive and some negative in evaluating the Japanese-language education. Some underscored what the principals said about the contribution of the language schools but others invalidated these statements. Some recalled their experiences at Japanese schools vividly, while the memory of others was quite hazy; some showed emotional attachment to their school days and teachers, while others sounded indifferent or even hostile; some stressed the effectiveness of the language-school education in either a positive or a negative direction, and others doubted that it had left any stamp on them.

What complicates these variations is that no one viewed the language-school system exclusively positively or exclusively negatively. The respondents who had an overall favorable opinion had some reservations; while negative evaluators had to admit there were some good things. Such complexity can be understood in the light of the afore-stated hypothesis on acculturation: Japanese values as a reinforcer for Americanization, and American values as repellent of Japanese values. I shall analyze these complicated responses as efforts to minimize ambivalence or conflict and to maximize integration of the two contradictory images of Japanese culture. The following patterns of recalling language-school experiences have emerged:

Language as a Skill

The questions relevant here were "What did you gain from your language-school education?"; "What are the most important moral lessons that you learned at the Japanese language school?"; "Do you think that Japanese language schools have contributed anything to Hawaii and American society in general?". Positive evaluation of language schools was expressed in a selective manner rather than in their entirety. The first important selective point was language vs. moral education. Most respondents found a positive value in having learned the Japanese language. Even those who either disapproved or did not think much of language schools felt glad they had acquired the language that other Americans do not usually have available to them. Here the language school is seen in the light of value-free, purely technical, linguistic training which provides the learner with an additional repertoire for adaptation. The advantage of knowing Japanese was emphasized particularly by specialists in the social sciences and the humanities. We should note here that the language-learning aspect, compared with the moral education aspect, was a minor point in the view of the school principals.

Personal Morality

Those who did not think the language school had been well-equipped with language-teaching ability tended to appreciate its moral education but not in totality. A systematic selection was made of personal, rather than social, moral values as what has been learned intensively and gainfully. Most frequently mentioned were preseverance, endurance, discipline, diligence. These virtues were considered by some informants as complementary to what one learned at public schools since the latter did not teach these things. One informant appreciated the sheer drill the school imposed on students--reading, writing, memorizing, speaking, regularly followed by exams. (This was, however, what was most strongly rebelled against by some other informants.) Pressure for hard work under encouraged competition was recalled with strong approval by another informant.

The personal virtues taught there were considered not only complementary to the American educational system, but also identical with middle-class Protestant American values. Mention was made in this connection of the ethic of work, success-orientation, emphasis upon the value of education, honesty, promptness, frugality, etc.

The curious point here is that personal virtues overshadow social virtues, and very few informants referred to those socially sensitizing moral values which were discussed before. The few who did mention social virtues such as filial piety or respect for elders did not advocate them without qualifications. Singling out personal morality as the main emphasis of shūshin may be interpreted as a way of integrating Japanese values and the individual-focused American values.

Activity-Focus

The language-school training was recalled or appreciated often with reference to physical activities engaged in, as divested of meanings underlying them. "Discipline by doing--meticulous writing, reading, etc.--was the most valuable

training," said an informant, who at the same time dismissed the shūshin teaching by moral precepts as "worthless." A couple of other informants had pleasant recollections of school songs they had sung, school plays they had participated in as actors. But they admitted that the meanings behind these had been completely lost. Activity-focus was thus a way of resisting the conceptualization of what was taught which might have put the student in culture conflict.

Denial of Loyalty Conflict

In response to the question, "Did you experience loyalty conflict as a student of both school systems, American and Japanese?", everyone, with only one exception, said "No" without hesitation. Loyalty had seldom been discussed in class or had never been brought up in terms of conflict. The lack of loyalty conflict was analyzed by informants in three different ways. First, the possibility of being loyal to both Japan and America had never been questioned--it was taken for granted. Second, loyalty never had become a serious issue because America was the only really existing country in the eyes of the students while all stories about Japan, including those about emperors, were taken only as "stories," never seriously. Here emphasis was on the harmlessness or ineffectiveness of Japanese language schools as a counterforce against American identity. To substantiate this view, one informant quoted aloud a passage from the Imperial Rescript with an unmistakable expression of hilarity and disrespect. Third, conflict was said to be lacking because loyalty had been exclusively and consistently to the United States, never to Japan. "I don't know about other schools, but my teachers never mentioned loyalty to Japan, and there was no question about loyalty to America."

With these variations, the overall impression was that loyalty conflict had not been brought into awareness. Asked why they had thought they had to be loyal to their country, many said, "Because we are American citizens," and one said, "Well, good Japanese are loyal to Japan. Good Japanese Americans must be loyal to America, right?"

Pragmatic Reinterpretation of Social Values

Some of the social virtues were accepted with rational or pragmatic qualifications. The concept of on, for example, of which a few informants claimed to have no comprehension, was accepted within a rational framework stripped of all irrational, sentimental elements. One informant reduced the concept to a rational exchange of benefits similar to an economic market which has no room for sentimentality. He owed on to his mother simply because she had worked so hard for her children, not because she was his mother. "We Nisei are pragmatic."

Pragmatic relativism was applied to other virtues as well, such as respect for elders. An informant stressed the universal validity of respect for elders not because of their age but because of their experience whereby they can guide the younger.

Such pragmatic reasoning seems to do away with the vicarious experience exhibited for others as the motivational basis for virtuous action, and to conform to self-oriented American norms.

Counter-evaluation

Counter-evaluation refers to positive evaluation of what was irrelevant or opposed to the intention of the school. One informant, with an overall negative attitude toward language schools, conceded to the fact that the school had kept him off the streets. If he had had more free time, he might have ended as a delinquent. (This kind of baby-sitting function seems to be most prevalent in post-war language schools and is much resented by the school principals.)

Another version of counter-evaluation is more revealing of the acculturation situation. Three informants said that they had hated and rebelled against the kind of drill they had to go through. But they now appreciated it; because without hatred of drill they would not have become as interested in public school lessons as they did. The language school offered "something that you bounced off against."

Conclusion

I have attempted to present a case to demonstrate the structural dilemma built in acculturation processes. Theoretically, special attention was paid to integration of the two models of acculturation. Analysis was made of the content of moral education textbooks used by Japanese language schools, expressed attitudes and opinions of school principals, and the statements by Nisei informants in various professional fields. The latter two revealed their experiences of dissonance and efforts to overcome it, as well as a wide discrepancy between the two groups of informants. In conclusion I shall underline the acculturation dilemma by referring to the self-image of Nisei. I asked my Nisei informants to characterize Japanese Americans. The highest consensus was found in their readiness for Americanization and in their behavioral affinity with Caucasian Americans as manifested in achievement orientation, studiousness, Puritanism, etc. One informant went further to reject the idea that there is anything distinct about Japanese Americans: "We are almost 100

percent American." Another described Japanese Americans, jokingly, as "banana--yellow outside, white inside." This characteristic was generally approved of, but at the same time was referred to in a tone of self contempt. One Nisei explicitly criticized this characteristic of Japanese Americans, particularly of Nisei, as an evidence of typically Japanese docility and conformity. The "whiteness" of Japanese Americans is understood here as an outcome of slavish emulation of white-American culture rather than as a coincidence of two cultures. This dilemma was well-expressed by another informant when he referred to the guilt complex of Nisei which makes them simultaneously reject and support "Haolified"[2] Japanese. "They are against those Japanese who speak good English, saying 'Are you trying to be a Haole?' Next moment, however, they vote for Sparky Matsunaga and Patsy Mink[Congressional Representatives from Hawaii], probably the two most eloquent English speakers."

FOOTNOTES:

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[2]This word is derived from "Haole," the Hawaiian rendition for "Caucasian," and used to epitomize with derogatory implications those who follow the Caucasian-American style of life.

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